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ABSTRACT

This monograph, published as part of the project "A Secondary Education for Europe," offers some basic data on the contemporary human geography of the European continent, with a focus on central and eastern Europe. The document first describes civic issues in the teaching of geography and cartography of the new Europe. The basic pedagogical intent of the text is to show, through a set of maps, the solidarity that links or should link the nations and states of Europe. The document advocates a geographical approach that takes into account Europe in peacetime and at war, the Europe to be developed, and the Europe to which peace must be brought. It argues that the teaching of geography must be modernized, particularly in the states that are in the process of being created, and that geography must portray territory in terms of different scales--the characteristics of a given area and the ways in which it fits into greater units. The second section describes changes that have affected European space since 1989, criteria for determining and defining Europe, and the demise of old and the creation of new states. Sections 3 through 5 describe basic geography, Europe at peace, and Europe in crisis. The chapters discuss economic gradients, the geography of transition and the focal position of the European Union, geo-economic entities, urbanization, continental reconnections, and migration patterns. Ten maps are included. (Contains 6 references.) (LMI)

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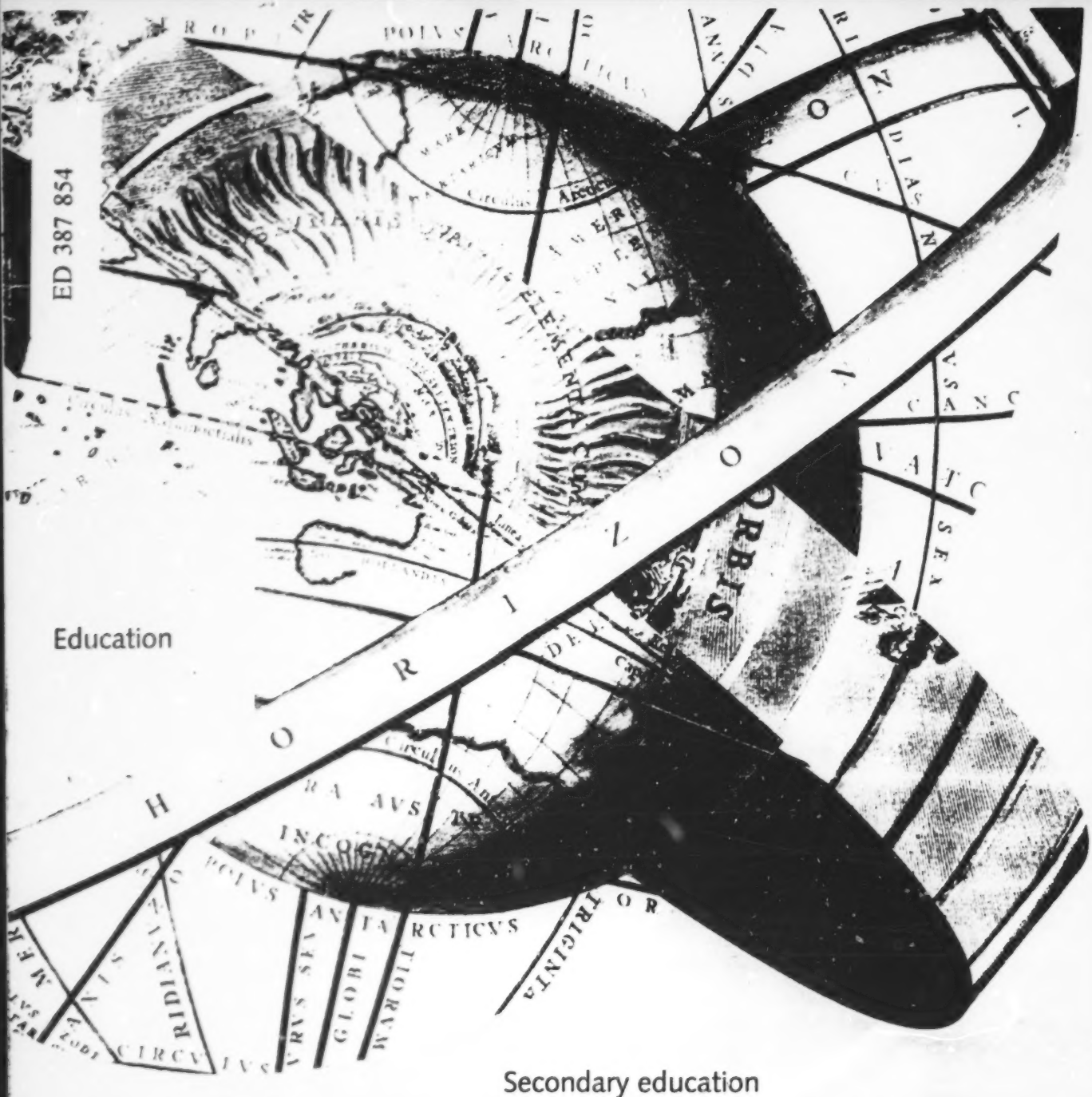

Education

Secondary education

The new faces of Europe

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The new faces of Europe

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Council for Cultural Co-operation

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The **Council of Europe** was founded in 1949 to achieve greater unity between European parliamentary democracies. It is the oldest of the European political institutions and has thirty-four member states,[1] including the fifteen members of the European Union. It is the widest intergovernmental and interparliamentary grouping in Europe, and has its headquarters in the French city of Strasbourg.

Only questions related to national defence are excluded from the Council of Europe's work, and the Organisation has activities in the following areas: democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms; media and communication; social and economic affairs; education, culture, heritage and sport; youth; health; environment and regional planning; local democracy; and legal co-operation.

The **European Cultural Convention** was opened for signature in 1954. This international treaty is open to European countries that are not members of the Council of Europe, and it enables them to take part in the Organisation's programmes on education, culture, sport and youth. So far, forty-three states have acceded to the European Cultural Convention: the Council of Europe's full member states plus Albania, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, the Holy See, Moldova, Monaco, Russia, Ukraine.

The **Council for Cultural Co-operation** (the **CDCC**) is responsible for the Council of Europe's work on education and culture. Four specialised committees – the Education Committee, the Standing Conference on University Problems, the Culture Committee and the Cultural Heritage Committee – help the CDCC to carry out its tasks under the European Cultural Convention. There is also a close working relationship between the CDCC and the regular conferences of specialised European ministers responsible for education, culture and cultural heritage.

The CDCC's programmes are an integral part of the Council of Europe's work, and, like the programmes in other sectors, they contribute to the Organisation's three over-arching policy objectives for the 1990s:

- the protection, reinforcement and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and pluralist democracy;
- the promotion of an awareness of European identity;
- the search for common responses to the great challenges facing European society.

The CDCC's education programme covers school, higher and adult education, as well as educational research. At present, its main priorities are projects on: the European dimension of secondary education; university co-operation; adult education and social change; modern languages; and the pooling of the results of educational research.

In 1991, the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe lanched a project entitled "A secondary education for Europe". The aims of the project are to:

- give young people the knowledge, skills and attitudes they will need to meet the major challenges of European society;
- prepare young people for higher education, and for mobility, work and daily life in a multilingual and multi-cultural, democratic Europe;
- make young people aware of their common cultural heritage and their shared responsibilities as Europeans.

This project has two elements: the first devoted to reflections and consultations among the member states on the overall policies and strategies, and the second on the European dimension in the school curriculum.

The aim of this series of monographs is to present succinctly either practical experiences of integrating the Euopean dimension into school or out-of-school life, or examples of contents or themes which could be the basis of reflections or discussions for teachers.

Since the aim of these monographs is to give rise to discussions and exchanges of views, the opinions and judgments contained in them are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy of the Council of Europe and its Council for Cultural Co-operation on the subject dealt with.

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Foreword

Until 1989, central and eastern Europe was an abstract notion, familiar to the strategists, but largely anonymous. Admittedly, the Solidarity movement had already given a measure of visibility to the Polish workers and some intellectual dissidents had come, through their translated works, to contest the established geopolitical order, but eastern Europe was still remote, misunderstood. In some respects a void on the map of Europe. Today, this "other" Europe, with its history, its populations and their aspirations is being revealed to us. Now it has taken on a human face and what the media showed, in Berlin, in November 1989, was not the leaders of states negotiating but men and women aspiring peacefully to freedom. The entire continent has been transformed at a stroke and a new human geography is emerging before our very eyes, in which we are at the same time spectators and actors.

Pedagogical intent

Civic issues in the teaching of geography and cartography of the new Europe

This text aims to offer some basic data allowing a grasp of the new realities characterising the contemporary human geography of the European continent. When history is in movement, places are transformed.

It develops, in a fuller and more up-to-date form, the paper given at the symposium of the Council for Cultural Co-operation on "The new Europe in geography teaching" (DECS/SE/Sec (92) 27).

It is organised around a series of thematic maps whose scale, for pedagogical reasons, is mainly national or continental. Small, infra-national, scales need to be envisaged in any in-depth presentation of Europe. They can be found in existing textbooks.[1]

Moreover, at a time when cartographic representations abound, but present silent pictures rather than fragments of reality, it is important to rehabilitate the use of this tool for representation and analysis. Interpreting maps is one of the best methods of geographical explanation, aiming to show the area over which a particular phenomenon extends, to underline correlations, to offer comparisons, to memorise configurations, to teach how to describe place co-ordinates (where, why there?) and, sometimes, to predict developments.

The basic pedagogical intention of this text is to show, through a simple set of maps, the solidarity which links or which should link the nations and states of Europe. Despite serious crises of state succession and chauvinistic nationalism, progress towards a common approach has been accomplished since the fall of the iron curtain. Sharing the same virtual space, which is a common heritage, Europe is divided by many different lines of separation. This diversity is the very basis of the European endeavour to create a coherent whole from scattered fragments.

Europe is not analysed here in its historical complexity, as the aim is to place the accent on the new faces of Europe. History of course forms the bedrock of any reflection on space. But its main features are well-known and areas of history which have lain in the shadows for the last half-century in the eastern half of Europe are now beginning to emerge into the light, with the opening of archives. Reference can be made to the works mentioned in the bibliography as well as to all the studies carried out under the aegis of the Council of Europe (in particular the European Cultural Routes).

Recent geopolitical upheavals must not however obscure what has been achieved. What has been accomplished since the 1950s remains fundamental. But nothing can ever be taken for granted. The barbaric violence of some of our open conflicts is a reminder that European history has been turbulent and bloody, where often those peoples closest to one another have been involved in the most violent conflict. Our history is one of both culture and savagery.

The geographical approach must therefore take into account Europe in peacetime and Europe at war, the Europe to be developed and the Europe to which peace must be brought. These opposing themes give an idea of the magnitude of the current task.

The era is favourable to the reorganisation of the European continent, starting from what has already been achieved. This long and exacting task presupposes an awareness of the factors involved. This is why it is essential to modernise geography teaching, particularly in the states which are in the process of being created. But, just as with the subject of history, teaching can either lead to an increase in awareness of basic common interests or else to nationalistic and inward-looking thinking.

Hence the importance, in geography teaching, of emphasising reality of multiple belonging. Even if the scale of the state remains the basic spatial level of reference, the two-fold regional and supranational dimension is also essential. Geography must therefore portray territory not in a one-dimensional way, but in terms of different scales: the characteristics of a given area and the ways in which it fits into greater units. In the same way that European awareness cannot grow unless pupils learn to speak the language of their neighbours, so spatial solidarity cannot be appreciated without the ability to find a place in a complementary and articulate manner within various geographical scales.

1. A very precise geographical presentation has just been published in the form of an atlas of 260 maps in four-colour print and 200 pages of text, with the support of the Council of Europe, entitled *Fragments d'Europe, atlas de l'Europe médiane et orientale* (Fayard, 328 pages, Paris, October 1993), under the direction of Michel Foucher.

As soon as they had acquired independence, the new states felt the need to be represented on the map, demonstrating that they had regained their sovereignty and the area over which it extended. This task of reclaiming their space thus led the geographers of the Baltic states to show that, taken as a part of the USSR, the republics seemed small, while if they are drawn individually, each one is the size of an average European state, comparable to Switzerland or Ireland: indeed, Estonia or Lithuania cover an area twice the size of Belgium.

In some cases, historians, geographers and cartographers have played a very negative role in providing ammunition to justify ultra-nationalist policies. To issue, for instance, at a time of instability, very detailed maps of "ethnic" distribution, is to pave the way for the forced transfer of populations. In regions of open conflict, the media have regularly broadcast biased maps. Conversely, it has been around the maps that the mediators have attempted to obtain the agreement of the parties in conflict in the crises of state succession which lead to the creation or modification of frontiers.

Both maps and geographical treatment, are therefore tools capable of opposing uses. This is why the teaching of geography cannot be reduced to training in a simple technique and to the acquisition of neutral knowledge. Like the teaching of history, it has fundamental civic implications.

A changing continent

Three decisive changes have affected European space since 1989:

– the end of the cold war and of the division of the continent by an iron curtain separating two rivals political and military, economic and ideological systems;

– the unification of Germany through the integration of the former GDR into the Federal Republic and the extension of the European Union to the very banks of the Oder-Neisse, the Polish border;

– the fragmentation, either negotiated or through conflict, of the former federations of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Even if we can give specific dates to these three events, they are none the less phenomena which took place over a long period of time and which will continue to exert an influence, if not to play a decisive role, in the coming years:

– the end of a divided Europe does not immediately imply a process of continental integration; territorial heritage remains, visible in the countryside – pollution of industrial and mining areas, of coastlines and waterways, unsafe nuclear plant, populations in poor health, illustrated by the reappearance of diphtheria in Russia, in Belarus and Ukraine in the summer of 1993, the deterioration of infrastructures and of public amenities; rebuilding will be a lengthy task;

– the same is true of German unification, at considerable financial cost (with transfers of public funds of more than 200 thousand million marks per year) and with heavy social implications;

– the collapse of federal systems held together only with ideological cement, leading in some cases to a return to war as the tragic means of settling political conflicts; there are twenty-one "new" states, and doubtless twenty-four if the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three separate parts is regarded as inevitable. A complete reorganisation of the continent is therefore taking place at a major turning point in history, where the structures put in place in 1945-49 have been completely overturned.

Europe in 1993: Europeans in search of a definition

The first task generally required of geographers is to specify and to explain the territorial limits of the areas which they see fit to represent. While defining the borders of China or North America poses no major epistemological problems, the contours of what we call Europe are subject to controversy and uncertainty.

In classical geography, the Ural mountains were regarded as the eastern limit of the continent. Not being much of a physical barrier, they were of political significance only when the Duchy of Moscow used them to define its borders, the better to make itself off from the peoples of Asia. But this border has had little relevance since the Russian people have spread to the east, towards the steppes of Kazakhstan, the open wastes of Siberia and to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The persistence in representing the Urals as the boundary was also due to east-west strategic rivalry and the recent agreements on disarmament imposed the withdrawal of part of the forces of the Russian army beyond the Urals. However, this boundary which cuts a state in two is no longer satisfactory today.

Towards the south, the mountain ranges of the Caucasus have also been proclaimed as the southern boundary of Europe, as a result of Russian expansion of the nineteenth century, in order the better to distinguish Christian Georgia and Armenia from their Muslim neighbours.

Definitions based on religious culture can hardly be considered adequate, however since south-east Europe as well as the large cities include Islamic populations. Both Albania and Bosnia are Muslim in the majority.

Determining the eastern borders of Europe poses the question of the geopolitical status of Russia, a Eurasian state which, like Turkey, has a stake in both in European issues – formerly due to the strategic threat, nowadays due to the size of its population, its energy resources, its internal market which is in the process of being formed and the reaffirmation of its geopolitical interests – and in the set of interactions with what is commonly termed Asia: central Asia, the Middle East and China.

Several possible responses, based either on preconceived criteria or on a logical progression, may be examined:

a. The economic criterion

The European Union of twelve (fifteen since 1 January 1995), meaning the "Single" or "common market" with which the term Europe in the narrow sense is most commonly associated, can no longer be taken by itself to represent the new geopolitical reality. The number of states which are actual or potential candidates for membership stood at 22 in 1993. Should Europe be defined as the sphere of "influence" of the European Union? The field of economic relations has led to the identification of an "economic area" of trade which in fact includes the Maghreb and the states of the eastern Mediterranean, and which broadly corresponds to the area of migratory flows. This defines Europe according to an exclusively economic criterion, as an area of free trade.

b. The criterion of institutions

The various institutions have fields of action which vary in scope: thus the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (1975), links the United States and Canada to the European states and the fifteen states which have succeeded the Soviet Union, into a vast whole stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostock. An area too vast and too influenced by the management of the cold war to be of use for our purposes.

c. The criterion of political practice

The map showing the area at present covered by the Council of Europe provides a key indicator, that of the gradual spread of democratic procedures and the rule of law (separation of powers, free elections and a free press, independence of the judicial system, observance of human and minority rights). The change has been marked since 1989. It may be agreed that the central core of contemporary Europe as a geopolitical entity is formed by the member states of the Council of Europe. Its extension is a logical possibility if the criterion is political: we can define as "Europeans" those who abide by the European democratic process, within and between states.

d. The criterion of interactions

This match between a space and a design has come about over a very long time. Historically, Europe has been both a community of cultures and a battlefield. Today, it is a field of intense interaction by virtue of its very diversity, its fragmentation and the opening of its borders. It is moreover the term "opening" which has been used most often to qualify the social and political changes since 1989. "Through their historical experiences and their cultural references, the distribution of their languages and the addition of their knowhow, the size of their populations, their economies and the geographical areas they cover, these fragments which make up Europe make it a potential geopolitical entity", a collection of fragments of which order must be brought (*Fragments d'Europe*, 1993, back cover).

Subjected to the paradoxes of unity and diversity, integration and fragmentation, Europe presents at the same time a unity of place and of action and a distramony in socio-political time, some dealing with their neighbours in the regulated mode of co-operation and compromise while others seek to impose borders through armed conflict. It is political space with variable geometry, stretching as far as the reign of citizens' democracy.

Europe in 1993 : the democratic transition

Council of Europe member state (1st September 1993)

ALBANIA special guest of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

C.S.C.E. member state

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Old and new states

Since 1989, Europe is the only continent to have known such a large increase in the number of states. With some exceptions, these have not been the result of conflict, but of the collapse of the communist bloc. But as in 1919-23, it is the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination which has won the day.

Europe has not entered a "post-national" phase; a historical process is taking its course in which peoples consider the national state as an objective to be attained.

But the peaceful and lasting secessions seem to obey a spatial logic: they have taken place on the immediate edges of developed Europe – the Baltic states, the Czech Republic, Slovenia – which has acted as a magnet in restructuring relations which had long centred around Moscow or Belgrade. Beyond central Europe, such processes are halting or incomplete.

a. In the case of the **Czechoslovak Federation**, the "velvet divorce" took effect from 1 January 1993, marked both by a complete separation of sovereignty and the signing of several dozen bilateral agreements. There is a risk that the economic gap between the two countries, which was one of the reasons for the divergence, will continue to grow. The Czech half is in a process of rapid integration with the European Union, in particular due to its links with Germany. The Slovak half is suffering from the difficulties of industrial reconversion in a country which was formerly one of the arsenals of the Warsaw Pact.

b. In the case of the **ex-Soviet Union**, the extent to which the former republics have gained sovereignty, within their former boundaries (except in the Caucasus – border wars between Armenia and Azerbaijan, between Georgia and Abkhazia – and in Moldova, due to the secession of the Russian-speaking minority in Transmitria varies. The restoration of Russian preeminence over what Moscow calls the "near abroad" is obvious: the energy-dependence of Ukraine and Belarus, Russian national interests in Kazakhstan, expressed through the maintenance of the CIS, the Commonwealth of Independent States, which is both a rouble zone and a strategic entity. The economic collapse of Ukraine places long-term limitations on its effective independence. A group of countries under direct Russian influence, and where many Russian-speaking minorities live – about 20 million – has been maintained for the time being over areas which have been part of the empire for several centuries, with the exception of states which were annexed to the USSR at a later date, such as the Baltic states and Moldova.

c. The **Federation of Yugoslavia** is in the process of breaking up due to a war waged by political forces which have chosen an ethnic, rather than a civic notion of national belonging. Territorial claims, secession and conflict over state succession have combined to impose the large-scale forced transfer of populations. In Bosnia alone, almost three million people had been displaced by mid-1993. Only Slovenia, situated on the borders of Austria and Italy, gained independence without prolonged warfare. Since 1991, a border war has ravaged the east of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the process of being divided into three parts, two of which, Serbian Bosnia and Croatian Bosnia, would ultimately be integrated into a greater Croatia and a greater Serbia. One Bosnian state will remain, with a Muslim majority, reduced to a third of the former republic and of uncertain economic and political viability without strong international guarantees.

To the south, the sovereignty of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is not yet won: the enclosure of an enclave which controls the Morava-Vardar corridor between Thessalonica and Belgrade makes it the target of pressure from its neighbours. A centre of tension also remains in Kosovo, a part of Serbia where the majority of the population are Albanian. These people are demanding at the very least a return to self-rule, a first step, no doubt, to claiming independence, which might lead to a grave crisis.

South-east Europe, known once more as "the Balkans", seems to be experiencing a series of historical set-backs which set it apart from the process of European integration. Any co-operation in the Balkans, although desired in Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, is impossible as long as the new borders within Yugoslavia have not been drawn up by mutual agreement (see chapter on Europe in crisis: the return of war in Europe).

Old and new States 1989-1993

new States

unification

towards three separate entities

State capital

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Basic geography

The major lines which divide the continent

The division of the continent into two opposing blocs will, in the end, have lasted only half a century. Nevertheless, the disappearance of this essentially ideological split has not resulted in unity. Other factors of division can be identified, with more or less far-reaching consequences.

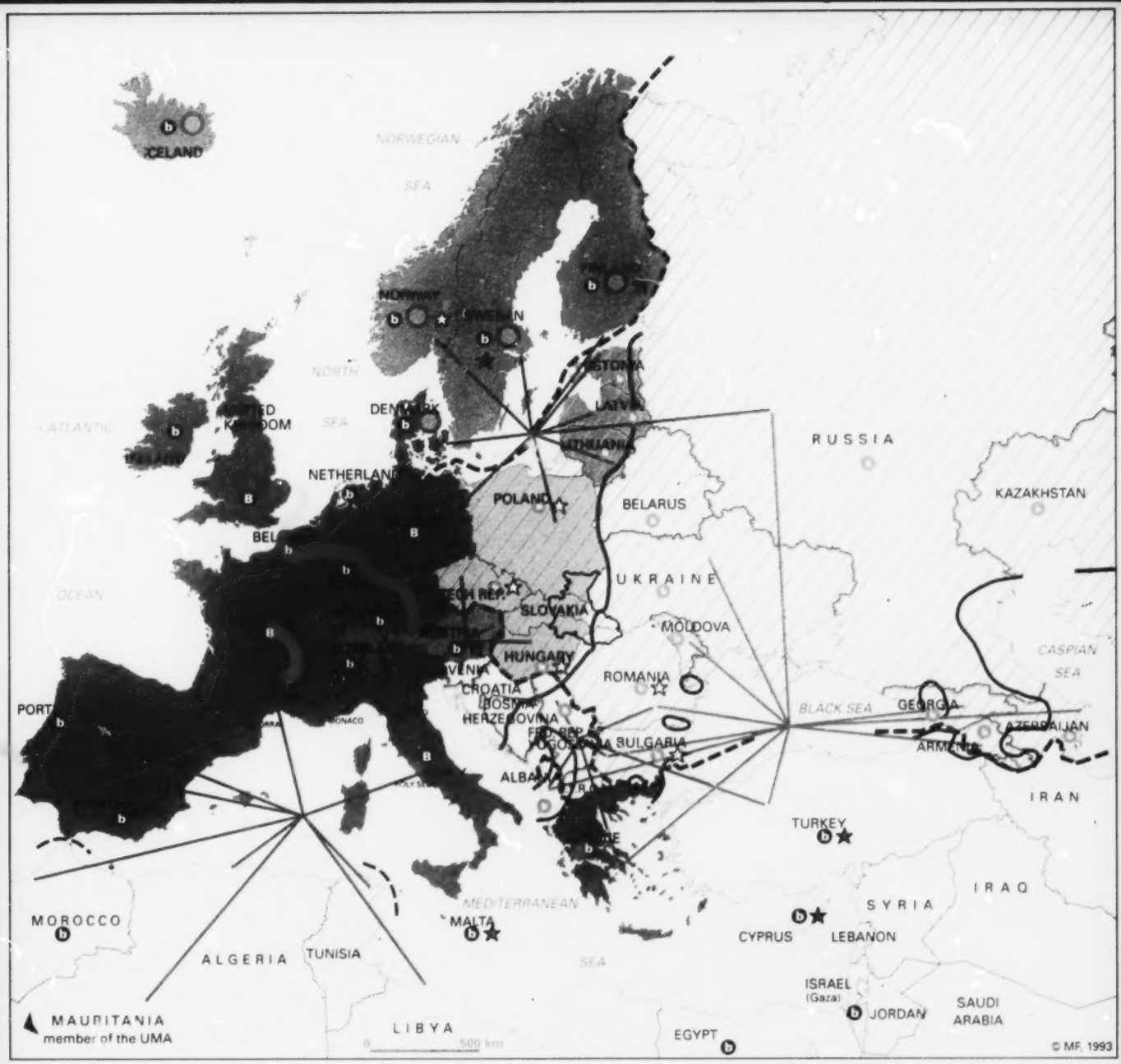
a. **Degree of integration within institutions**

Institutionally, the multi-state structures which linked European countries such as the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (or Comecon) and the Warsaw Pact have collapsed. These states are looking for new affiliations through various channels:

- entry into the Council of Europe;
- signing of association agreements with the European Union – this is the case for Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria;
- the desire to be integrated into security structures, in particular for those states in the former military theatre of central Europe, entry into Nato being the declared aim of Poland and the Czech Republic, which would imply that the Russian Government does not object to it;
- participation in the capital of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), which funds infrastructure and economic development projects;
- entry into regional transborder co-operation groupings, from the White Sea to the Black Sea:
- the agreement of the states bordering the Barents Sea, on the protection of the environment and nuclear safety;
- the Baltic Conference, associating the new Baltic states with those of the Nordic Council;
- the Visegrad Group associating the four countries of central Europe in order to co-ordinate their relations with the European Union and to open their respective markets;
- the Central European Initiative, initiated by Italy;
- the Black Sea Economic Area, a Turkish initiative.

Not all the states are equally involved in these functional groupings and the Yugoslav crises have contributed to the Balkan area being excluded from much institutional progress. In the same way, the magnitude of the economic difficulties of the former USSR further emphasises the interdependence of the diverse components of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which are not linked to alliances based in central or eastern Europe.

The degree of integration into the many institutional groups which form a real mesh varies from one state to another and characterises the Europe of the future.



former ideological and military front

- former iron curtain

social and cultural gaps

- western limit of civil societies marked by orthodoxy
- northern limit of islamic world

boundaries

- international boundaries
- new State boundaries

Main multi-lateral institutions

- E.E.C. (European Economic Community, 1957)

E.E.C. candidate country

- already declared candidate
- potential candidate

- Nordic Council (1952)
- E.F.T.A. (European Free Trade Association, 1960)
- E.E.A. (European Economic Area, 1991)
- former COMECON (1949-1991)
- U.M.A. (Union of Maghreb Arab states, 1989)

E.B.R.D. (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1991)

- Principal European partner
- other European partner
- shareholder partner

+ USA, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, South Korea, EEC, European Investment Bank

multi-states conferences and co-ordination

- Visegrad agreement (1990 and 1992)
- Baltic Common Market (1992)
- Balkan Conference (1988)
- Central European Initiative (1991, former Pentagonal)
- Baltic Council (1992)
- Black Sea Economic Co-operation Zone (1992)
- "The Nine" (1990). Co-ordination between UMA and the four EEC Mediterranean members
- Carpathian Euroregion

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b. **State of foreign relations**

If one considers the foreign relations of the states, there is a further distinguishing factor in Europe.

In the former eastern bloc, the framework for foreign relations was set by the USSR and centred in Moscow. These states, freed from Soviet control, are today confronted by the necessity of setting out their diplomatic policy. The attraction of western Europe is not sufficient to create a climate of stability in central and eastern Europe.

In this context, questions about borders and the relations between majorities and minorities influence bilateral relations between states. This is the case between Russia and states with strong Russian speaking minorities such as Estonia, Latvia or the Ukraine, between Poland and Lithuania, between Poland and the Ukraine, between Romania and Ukraine, between Hungary and its neighbours Romania, Slovakia and Serbia, between Greece and its neighbours Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey, between Bulgaria and Turkey.

Certainly, in all the examples cited, there have been no open conflicts since 1989, but latent tensions remain, encouraged paradoxically by the role of parliamentarianism in political life which allows the most nationalist parties to foster nostalgia and revisionist dreams.

Foreign relations are not yet stabilised everywhere and the settlement of outstanding issues will largely determine whether these states can be fully integrated into a wider European Union.

c. **Importance of the great founts of civilisation**

History has shown that European civilisations were formed in social and cultural environments in which religious references played a central role and continue to do so where religion and national identity coincide.

From this point of view, two major civilisations stand out, on either side of an area stretching from the north of Russia and Estonia to the Adriatic, via the Polish-Ukrainian border, western Ukraine and Romania and cutting former Yugoslavia literally in two, between Serbia and Croatia. A real frontier of faith, which has been reactivated by the fall of communism and the jostling of political borders which often accompany it.

On one side, there are societies whose origins lie in western Christianity, in either its Roman Catholic or Protestant form, characterised by a separation of Church and State leading, through the ages, to the more or less rapid emergence of civil societies. On the other, a Europe inherited from Byzantium, with Churches less independent of the State, and which played, through their self-governing status, a major role in the formation of the nation.

Currently, faced with the void left after the fall of communism, we are seeing a re-awakening of the Orthodox Churches, accompanied by movements reaffirming national identity, in opposition to what they sometimes see as the desire of the Roman Catholic Church to extend its sphere of influence.

A line of division since 1054, the separation between religions is the most obvious social and cultural boundary within the continent. This rift is made complex in the Balkan region by the presence of minorities (Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia) and of majorities (Bosnia, Albania, Turkey) which follow Islam, a legacy of several centuries of Turkish influence. East and west in Europe reveal themselves in times of crisis, in quests for national freedom and in planned alliances.

Initially, the west gave more aid to central Europe, along its borders, than to eastern Europe in the strictest sense, with its Orthodox religious origins. The Yugoslav crisis saw old allegiances brought into play. The persistence of unresolved crises carries the risk of reviving old alliances or areas of affinity evoking the past. Similarly, the risk that the rift between east and west in Europe will deepen is not a negligible one, as, due to political crises or economic difficulties, these two parts of Europe are evolving at a different historical pace.

Economic gradients

Another major kind of division is economic.

The map illustrates major differences in the standard of living in Europe, the widest gap being between Switzerland and Albania, in the order of 25 to 1. The Strait of Otranto is a deep and lasting socio-economic gap which Albanian migrant workers are attempting to cross.

Paradoxically, the distance has been accentuated since 1989, due to the introduction of the market economy and the accompanying recession. Since that time, growth rates have been negative in central and eastern Europe.

The fall in GNP for central and eastern Europe (excluding the former USSR) was 11% in 1991 and 4% in 1992. The figures for the former USSR are 11% in 1991 and 19% in 1992.

GNP in 1991 and 1992: progression in %

1. Central and eastern Europe

	1991	1992
Central and eastern Europe	– 11	– 4
Albania	– 30	– 8
Bulgaria	– 12	– 8
Croatia	– 29	– 11
Estonia	– 13	– 26
Hungary	– 12	– 5
Latvia	– 8	– 44
Lithuania	– 13	– 35
Poland	– 7	+ 1
Romania	– 14	– 15
Slovenia	– 9	– 7
Czechoslovakia	– 16	– 7

2. Commonwealth of Independent States (and former USSR, except Baltic states)

CIS	– 11	– 19
Armenia	– 12	– 50
Belarus	– 3	– 11
Georgia	– 25	– 30
Kazakhstan	– 8	– 13
Russia	– 11	– 19
Ukraine	– 14	– 14

(Source: EBRD, Economic Review, Current Economic Issue, 07/93)

Figures for cumulative fall in production from 1989 to 1992, are as follows:

Albania:	– 62%
Bulgaria:	– 45%
Czech and Slovak Republics:	– 40%
Hungary:	– 34%
Poland:	– 32%
Romania:	– 45%
Slovenia:	– 30%

(Source: EIU)

Such a depression was inevitable as soon as these countries lost their foremost customer, the former USSR – which at the same time charged for energy supplies at world prices – and as Comecon links loosened and these countries opened up to imports from the European Union and to international competition.

However, these gaps can, taken as a whole, be considered transitory. Positive growth has been recorded in Poland since 1993 and will be in the Czech Republic and in Hungary in 1994.

Furthermore, the progressive opening of western markets is an irreversible change: exports from central and eastern Europe to the OECD reached 32 thousand million dollars in 1992, as against 26 in 1991, 75% of which was to the European Union. They are 29 thousand million for the former USSR (of which 70% was to the European Union, mainly energy).

A major economic division is therefore becoming blurred, indicating the start of a process of continental economic integration.

The speed of the transition will vary according to the economic level at the outset, the political possibility of continuing reforms and also the rate of growth in western Europe. For central Europe, after the period of depression, a period of recovery could take place from 1994, due to investment and transfers of technology from Europe and the United States and the increase in trade; after 1996, sustained growth could mean catching up with western standards of living within 25 to 35 years, which would indicate annual growth rates of 3% to 7%.

GNP per capita 1990

- less than 1 500 $
- 1 500 $ - 3 000 $
- 3 000 $ - 6 000 $
- 6 000 $ - 11 000 $
- 11 000 $ - 16 000 $
- more than 16 000 $

EEC's share as seller and customer (1991)

- 62/85 share of EEC as seller and customer
- 28 share of EEC as seller

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The geography of transition and the focal position of the European Union

The European Union has replaced the former USSR and Comecon as the main commercial and financial partner of central and eastern Europe.

However, the process of transition begun five years ago has moulded an economic landscape very different from that of 1989.

This can be explained by a combination of factors:

- the economic and political situation at the outset (with at the two extremes autarkical Albania and Hungary which had already begun reform in 1970);
- the geographical situation, which gave an advantage to those states bordering the European Union and EFTA (from Poland to Slovenia);
- the degree of democratisation and stability (thus contrasting Poland or the Czech Republic with other states such as Croatia);
- the degree to which trade had been oriented towards the European Union (to a greater extent for the Visegrad group than for south-east Europe);
- economic performance and the extent to which structural reforms had been carried out (more slowly in states such as Bulgaria, Romania, Albania or Ukraine);
- where foreign investment (90% went to central Europe and Slovenia);
- finally, the degree of each state's geopolitical stability. There are, in all, four distinct categories of countries:

a. The transition is well under way in the three central European states and in Slovenia; Slovakia is not yet in this group, due to the impact of the partial separation of the two economies, the constraints in reconverting the military industry, the lower level of foreign investment (80% has gone to the Czech Republic) and to the slow pace of reform.

b. In south-east Europe, particularly in Bulgaria and Romania, the slow pace of reform (apart from agriculture and the service industries) and the impact of the economic split with the former USSR which was previously for Bulgaria especially, a major partner, explain the uncertain nature of the transition.

c. Albania and the majority of the states which have succeeded former Yugoslavia, at war, are close to economic disaster; the grave political uncertainties mean that only a return to peace and the settlement of disputes could offer the prospect of reconstruction which, in any event, would need to be supported by aid on a massive scale; for a long time to come, Albania will have a drip-fed economy.

d. In the former USSR, the degree of interdependence between economies is illustrated by the maintenance of the rouble area (except in the three Baltic states and, in part, Ukraine). These countries form a *de facto* group, dependent on energy supplies from Russia and on the imposed nature of inter-industrial trade.

The three Baltic states are nevertheless in a situation of double transition, both in relation to a market economy and in relation to Russia. The development of Estonia's trade horizons illustrate this.

Estonia

Foreign trade (in millions of US$)	1991	1992	1993
Exports			
outside former USSR	52	163	263
to former USSR	2 814	263	318
Imports from all countries			
except former USSR	204	241	375
from former USSR	2 128	266	406

(Source: EBRD, 1993)

Western Europe

- the E.E.C.
- E.F.T.A states due to join the E.E.C. by 1995
- E.F.T.A. states whose membership may be delayed
- the five new *Lander*

Central and Eastern Europe

- states where economic transition is under way
- states where economic transition is delayed by political obstacles
- states where a growing opposition to reform can be noticed
- states in economic crackdown
- strategy of European integration

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The wider European economic area: east versus south?

The area involved in special trade relations with the European Union is not confined to states of the European Free Trade Area, central Europe and former eastern Europe. The states to the south and east of the Mediterranean have been part of a wider economic area since well before 1989, with the European Union as the focus.

European Union share in the foreign trade of the southern European states (the first figure shows the share of the European Union as supplier, the second as customer; 1991)
Algeria: 62-65%
Morocco: 76-65%
Libya: 62-85%
Syria: 40%
Egypt: 44-55%
Israel: 49-34%
Jordan: 28%
Tunisia: 75-69%

However, there are risks of competition in the distribution of resources.

Economic assistance to the east/to the south (payments in millions of US$)

Year	East	South
1985-88	–	17 780
1989	–	5 152
1990	9 226	8 053
1991	18 093	9 200
1992	10 996	–

In terms of direct investment, central Europe has received since 1991 $5,6 thousand million against $3,7 for the Maghreb and Turkey, which are in an intermediate position.

Year	Maghreb and Turkey (in millions of US$)	Central Europe (in millions of US$)
1984-88	1 433	–
1989	908	–
1990	936	573
1991	1 185	2 261
1992	1 564	2 825

(*Source*: CEPII, July 1993)

For the time being, therefore, the east has not ousted the south. But there is a situation of potential competition, as ultimately the east will join the European Union, which is not the case for the Maghreb, and competition is strong in specific sectors: textiles, semi-manufactured products.

Action to encourage the productive reinvestment of migrant worker savings as well as the extension of the European Charter on Energy to the south would help in organising north-south interaction.

Finally, if the process of geopolitical normalisation is confirmed in the Near East, the financial requirements to be mobilised will be considerable: almost $6 thousand million for the self-rule area of Palestinian Gaza-Jericho alone. The European Union will be required to provide the funds, with the United States undertaking to provide security.

Thus, in less than five years, the real horizons of the states of the European Union have widened. Will it be capable of carrying out its political and financial responsibilities while operating at the same time to the east, to the south and to the south-east?

Europe at peace: a continent to be developed

In the previous two chapters, the accent has been placed on geopolitical change and on the major lines of division apparent on a continental scale and over a long period of history, as the social and cultural data fall into place. The factors involved in fresh alliances have been underlined in order to show that in western Europe, positive progress has been accomplished which has not been invalidated by the geopolitical changes of the years 1989-91.

In 1993, Europe presents two faces: that of national harmony in the majority of countries; that also of war in a few cases, which have been "contained" inside the borders of the two former federations where state succession has caused serious border conflicts. These conflicts are dealt with later in the section entitled Europe in crisis.

This chapter will describe the characteristics of the human and economic geography of the areas which belong to "peaceful Europe". Sovereign states are the basis for the construction of a wider Europe. It is the European Council of the Heads of State or Government which decides twice a year the general direction of policies implemented by the Commission based in Brussels. This custom of consultation leads to the exercise of co-sovereignty over matters of essential common interest.

Examined from a geographical perspective concerned to vary the scales, these states are also composed of differing regions and the gradual establishment of an economic area "without borders" which is one aspect of the globalisation of economies, has affected each of the spatial, regional, urban, agricultural, rural and natural areas of which they are composed.

These "sub-units" do not all join equally, with the same advantages, in the common enterprise. It is therefore useful to complete the foregoing analyses with more specific emphasis on the geo-economic changes affecting the European area.

Geo-economic entities within Europe: tentative typology and interpretation

For half a century, the west European economic space was structured in relation to the obstacle of the iron curtain, which blocked west-east trade; north-south relations were favoured, both in the Community of six, then twelve and now fifteen.

The opening up of central and eastern Europe, as well as German unification, slightly altered this organisation of trade areas.

By combining the spatial elements described in the previous paragraph with data relating to the pre-existing organisation of the western European area, a typology of functional groups can be identified, each of which has specific problems in common.

a. North-west Europe clearly forms the "directional heartland" where the large cities are situated, the major centres for political and institutional decision-making, finance (the stock exchanges of London, Frankfurt, Paris and Amsterdam) and industry (headquarters of European and multinational firms), the major airports (London, Paris, Frankfurt, Amsterdam) and the major ports (London, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg, Le Havre). Also found here are the centres housing the European institutions such as Brussels, Strasbourg, Luxembourg, The Hague.

By the end of the century, these cities will be linked more efficiently by a high-speed rail network. It is a veritable integrated "decision belt".

The opening of and to the east has not fundamentally changed this situation even if Germany has become the largest although not the exclusive partner of central Europe. Berlin, situated in the north-east of the five new *Länder* undergoing conversion and only 80 kilometres from the Polish border, is still separated from this north-west Europe.

b. Common problems face Europe's Atlantic seaboard, from the Shetlands and Iceland to Portugal and the Azores, the risk being that of relative marginalisation in relation to the heartland already mentioned, particularly for Portugal. These regions and states – Portugal, Ireland – benefit from the Community policy of transfers by means of the structural funds. The saturation of the North Sea ports could encourage a sharing of traffic with other Atlantic rim platforms; the growth in international trade should develop the Atlantic area as an interface with the rest of the world.

c. The western Mediterranean regions, or the "Latin rim" are sometimes presented as being a virtual "sun belt" where the quality of life, linked to the climate,

could attract productive activities based on high technology. They include dynamic regions (Catalonia and the Valencia-Murcia region, the south of France, regions of central Italy) as well as regions in difficulty (Andalusia, islands and the Mezzogiorno). Community-funding in the south of Spain and Italy represents a substantial contribution to major facilities (high-speed train from Madrid to Seville) which link them to the capitals and to the more dynamic regions.

These regions which had been large centres for migration since the 19th century, have become, since the 1970s, areas for entry into the European Union for migrant workers from the Maghreb and Africa, but also from the Balkans (Albania).

The future of these regions, whose past prosperity was based on its openness to the world, is also dependent on political and economic development in the Maghreb, the Levant and the Machrek.

d. From Lyons to Vienna and from Stuttgart-Munich to Turin-Milan-Venice, an original macro-regional group stands out, based around the Alps, a median alpine Europe. It includes Switzerland and Austria as well as the southern *Länder* of Germany, the northern regions of Italy – Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia – and the Rhône-Alpes region. These populated regions, controlled by major cities which are not political capitals, have registered strong growth over the past 20 years, based on new industries and the development of trade. They represent the second group in growth after the "decision belt" of the north-west.

e. Northern Europe, prosperous, sparsely populated, protected, is in the process of opening up increasingly to the European Union at the same time as it must expend towards the regions of central and eastern Europe bordering the Baltic Sea. This border position is an advantage for northern Poland, the three Baltic states as well as north-west Russia, around Saint Petersburg.

The growing links between northern Europe and the European Union will contribute in fact to strengthening the directional heartland of Europe.

f. Three other groups correspond to geopolitical entities: central Europe, eastern Europe and Russia. Their principal characteristics have been described above. One other group that merits attention can be termed "south-east Europe" and includes an important member state of the Council of Europe, Turkey. Admittedly, the conflicts between the Slavs in the south and the tensions which threaten have again made the Balkans issue topical. A pejorative connotation weighs on this term and contributes to the "isolation" of these areas on our mental maps, even if they are not in a critical situation. In this south-east Europe, Greece, a member of the European Union, is realising that it is far wealthier than its Albanian, Macedonian and Bulgarian neighbours. Migratory pressures are strong: Greek investments are progressing and a "drachma area" is being formed. Turkey is expanding its economic relations along the shores of the Black Sea. The future of this group, where "Balkan" co-operation is rendered ineffective due to the war, depends both on the return of stability and the improvement of relations between Greece and Turkey, beginning with the status of Cyprus.

Major geo-economic regional sets

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The cities: 80% of city dwellers

Europe has nearly 580 million inhabitants, plus 150 million in Russia and 16 million in the three states of the Caucasus. The member states of the Council of Europe had, in 1993, approximately 515 million inhabitants.

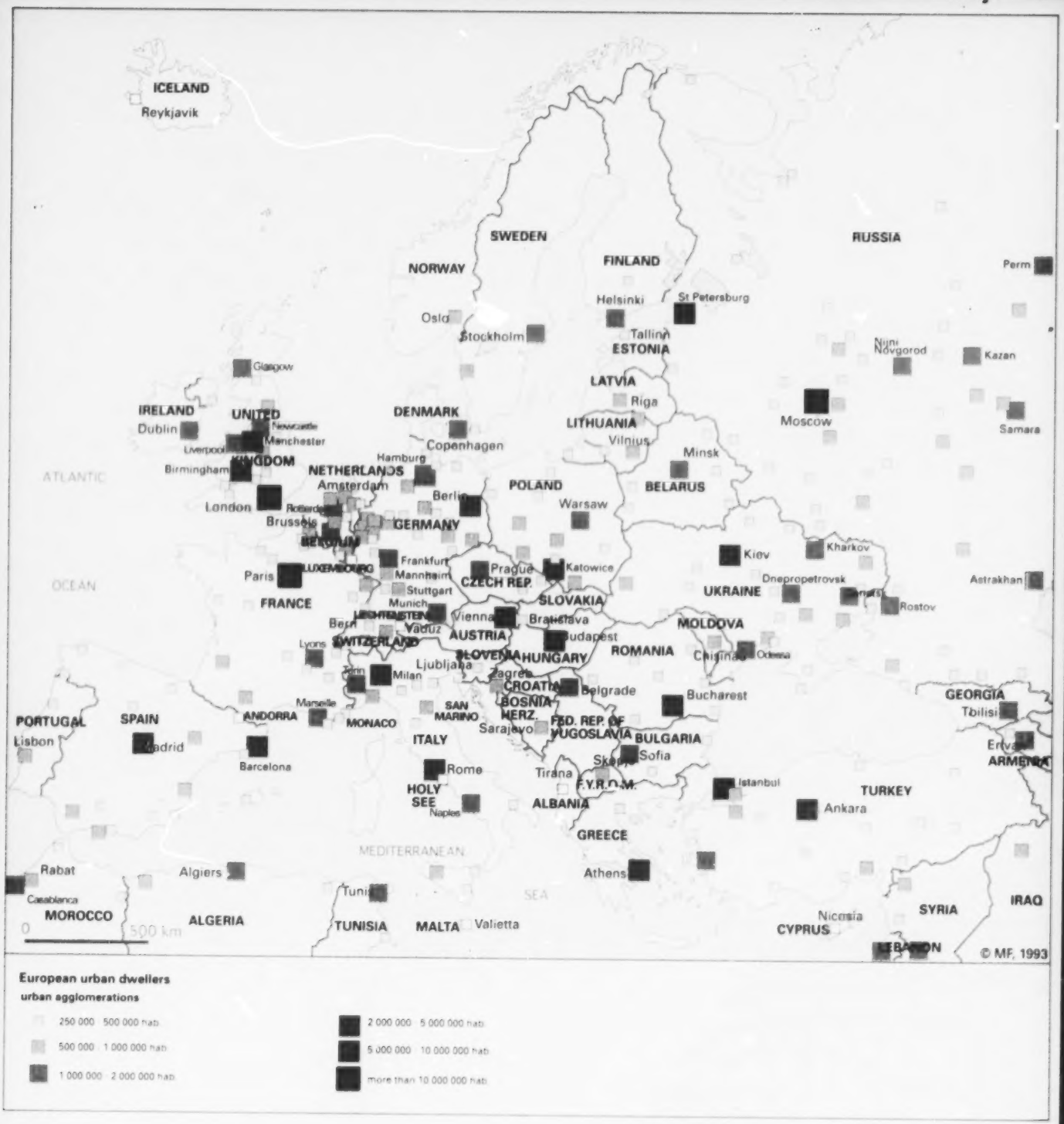
European populations are distributed in particularly dense areas from the centre of the United Kingdom to the centre of Italy, broken only by Switzerland and Austria. There are other densely populated and urbanised areas: the Mediterranean regions, from Valencia-Murcia to Rome-Naples-Palermo; the long drawn-out regions from Bohemia and Silesia to the Donets basin, in eastern Ukraine. Outside these regions, several large cities stand out, Madrid, Athens, Istanbul, Bucharest, Kiev, Moscow and Saint Petersburg.

In all, almost 80% of Europeans live in urban areas. The general trend is towards a growing concentration of populations in the major cities.

This strengthens the influence of north-west Europe. Despite policies of decentralisation carried out in many states, in particular those with a federal structure, market forces and internationalisation promote the concentration of activities, of new jobs, of decision centres, within this north-west Europe, where the foremost regions of the European Union are to be found (Ile de France, London, the Rhine *Länder*). Firms find in the large cities a wide, specialised and innovative job market and the flexible conditions required for world competition. Perceived by the major economic players as being low risk, the bigger cities attract European assets in ever-growing spatial concentrating.

It is an underlying trend, resulting from modernisation linked to European construction, an interface between individual states and the world.

In central and eastern Europe, the capitals and major regional cities have become the points of entry for modernisation and investment and the laboratory of the market economy and of political debate. The cities are the nodes of east-west reconnection. Budapest received 80% of foreign capital. They are therefore less affected by the social effects of industrial conversion. Prague has an unemployment rate of less than 2%. There, too, the attraction of the cities will grow.



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Continental reconnections

East-west trade will grow rapidly, reflecting the reintegration of the continent. According to the European Conference of Transport Ministers (1990), an increase in trade volumes by a factor of 11 to 17 in ten years can be envisaged. Neither, the networks of central and eastern Europe nor east-west links are adapted to such prospects and must be restructured: modernising the rail network, building motorways, upgrading waterways, creating multi-modal corridors.

In an east-west direction, several multipurpose routes will be developed to carry most of the traffic:

- Benelux-Ruhr to Berlin, Poznań, Warsaw, Minsk and Moscow;
- The Ruhr to Leipzig, Dresden, Wroclaw, Cracow and Ukraine;
- Paris-Strasbourg to Frankfurt and Berlin as well as to Stuttgart, Prague, Wroclaw, Łódź, Warsaw and to Munich, Vienna, Bratislava and Budapest;
- Turin-Milan to Ljubljana, Budapest, then Bucharest, Constance, or Sofia-Varna and Sofia-Plovdiv and Istanbul.

In a north-south direction, several passages will link up, to the west of the Saône-Rhône axis and Germany-Italy: firstly, there is the axis parallel to the former iron curtain, from Norway to Trieste, via the German ports of the Baltic and Berlin, Dresden and Prague; next, a second axis, further to the east, from Sweden to Budapest via Gdańsk, Poznań, Wroclaw or Łódź-Cracow. A final axis could link Athens and Thessalonica to Sofia, Bucharest and Odessa.

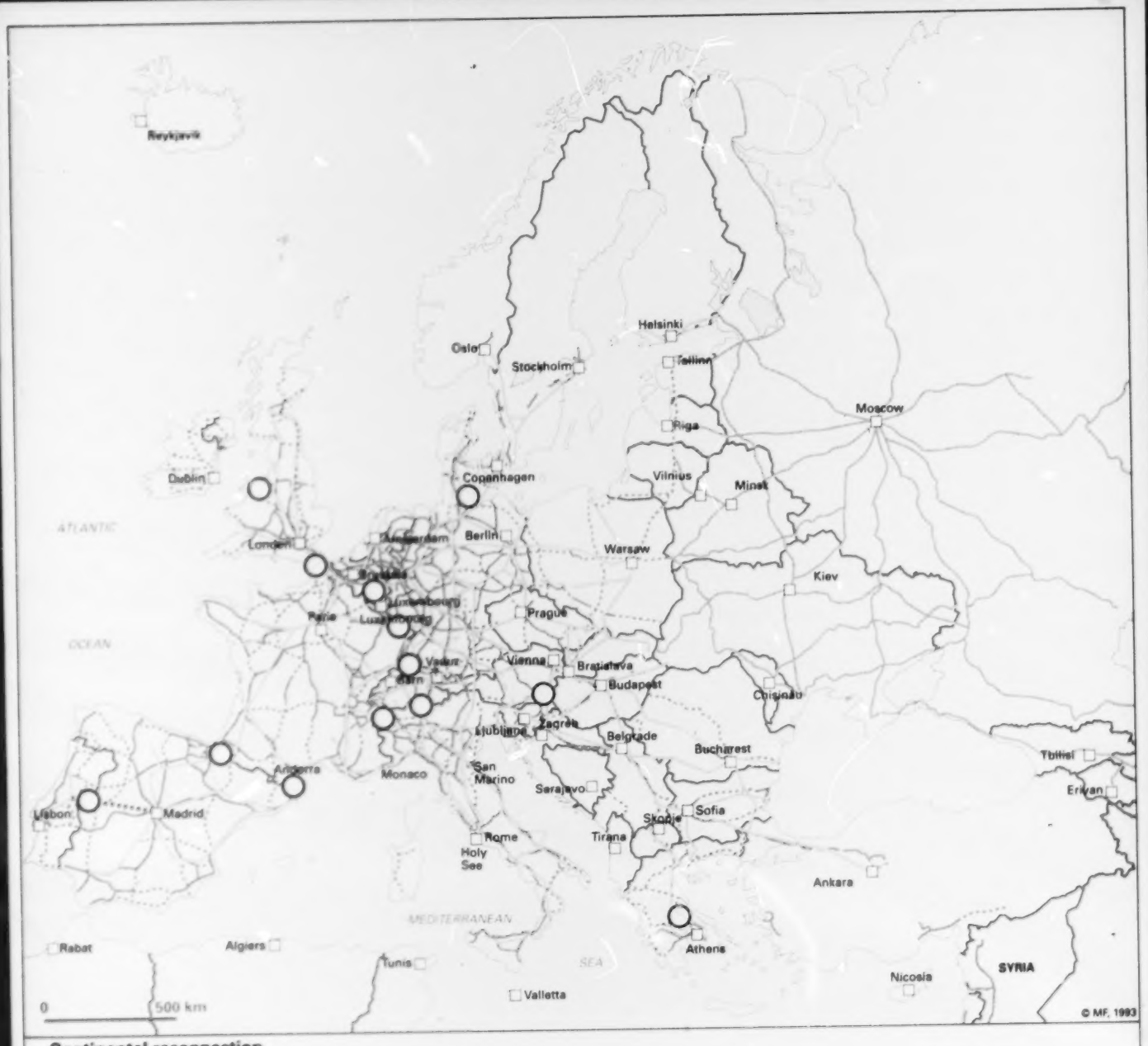
The north-west/south-east Rhine-Main-Danube axis is a large wide gauge link which joins Amsterdam and Rotterdam to Constance on the Black Sea, via Frankfurt, Bamberg, Kelheim, Linz, Vienna, Bratislava, Budapest provided it is not broken at Belgrade.

The first east-west motorway link will be opened in 1995 between Vienna and Budapest, for the World Fair in Budapest.

There has been considerable delay in building motorways and it is planned to remedy this within the framework of the TEM programme (Trans-European Motorway, linking the Baltic to the Mediterranean and to the Black Sea via a 20 000 km network, 6 100 km of which has been completed).

Similarly, the TER project (Trans-European Railway) involves 21 countries. Plans for high-speed trains were discussed at an International Railways Union conference (Warsaw, April 1993), concerning the Paris-Moscow axis. But, in addition to questions of finance and competition between routes, (Vienna has been put forward), many consider it to be more realistic to modernise and to rebuild existing lines, beginning with Berlin-Warsaw.

With the completion of the "missing links" in the European Union networks, east-west transport projects symbolise the reorganisation of the European area which is now opening up.



Continental reconnection

railway network

- planned or existing high-speed line
- line to be planned
- connecting line
- missing link

road network

- existing motorway
- planned motorway
- "M" class motorway (former USSR)

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Migrations

Newly-found liberty also includes the right to migrate, according to the Helsinki principle of 1975 where the west had called for the right to freedom of movement for men and ideas, against the closed system of the east European bloc.

However, Europe does not seem "ready to welcome floods of immigrants" as the 1992 European Population Committee report notes.

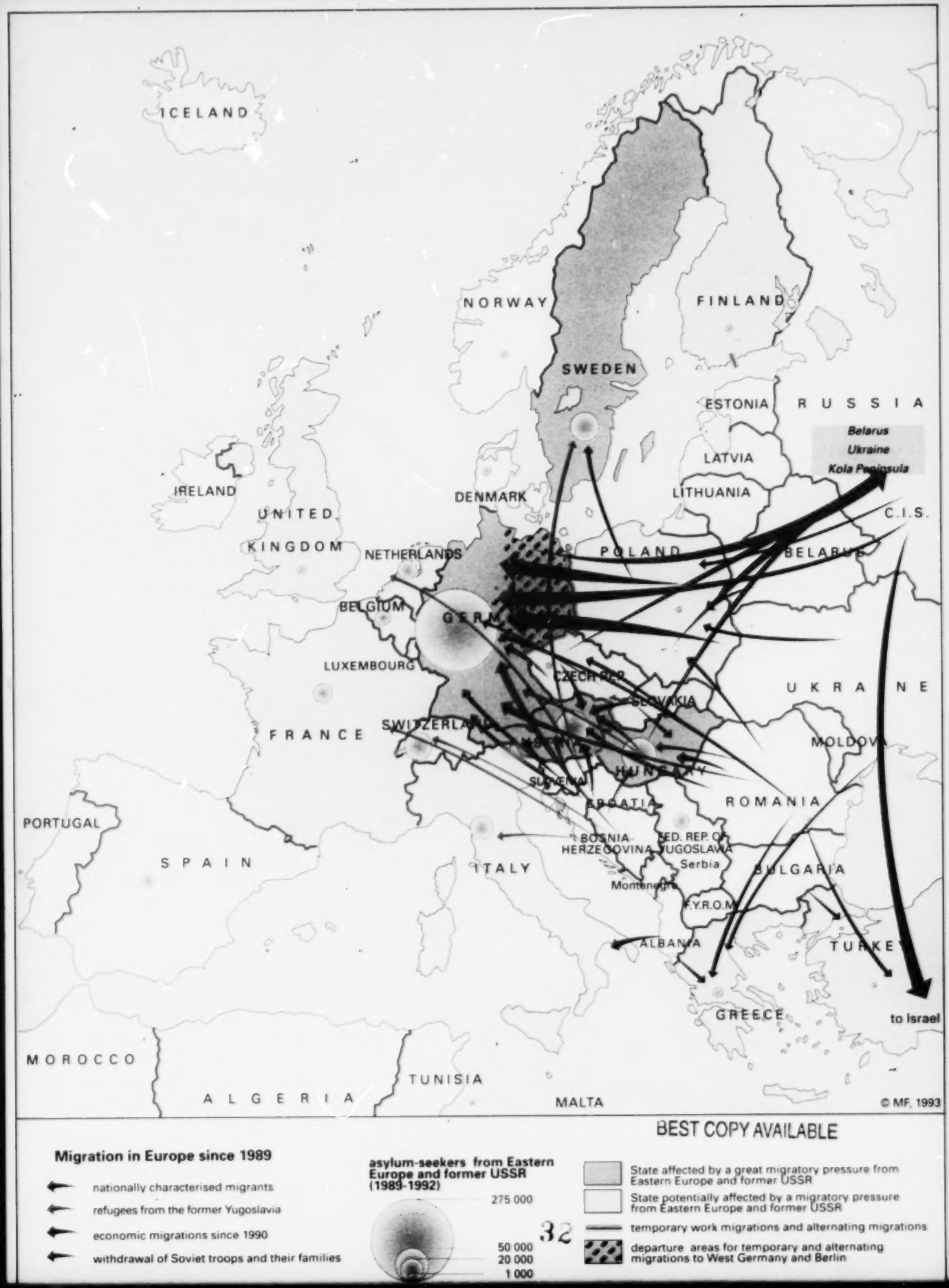
Migration between European countries has begun once more and can be ascribed to factors of three types:

a. The first are national migrations, which concern the populations of German descent in Russia, Poland or Romania who have the right to acquire German nationality. In this way, 720 000 people of German origin came to Germany in 1989, followed by 685 000 in 1990 and 200 000 in 1991.

The migration of the Greeks from the Black Sea, the Pondi, living in southern Russia and Georgia, was for similar reasons, as was that of the Jewish communities from Russia and the Ukraine, 400 000 of whom had already gone to Israel by the end of 1991.

Several states have seen the return of ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities: Hungarians from Romania, Slovakia and Serbia; Poles from Belarus; Finns from Russian Karelia; Armenians from Russia; Greeks from Albania; Russians and Ukrainians from the former republics of the USSR; Turks from Bulgaria.

b. The second involves the forced migration of new minorities following crisis and conflict: Armenians from Azerbaijan, Azeris from Armenia; Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia; Croats from Serbia and Bosnia; Muslim Bosnians. These forced transfers denounced as "ethnic cleansing" are the result of nationalist policies whereby the ethnic principle is used to define the exclusive basis for belonging to a country, at the expense of the concept of citizenship of a nation. The years 1991-93 saw, in south-east Europe and in the Caucasus, forced migrations on a scale not seen in Europe since the "feint" of the 1940s, except in the USSR. Europe numbers several million political refugees and displaced persons (3 million for Bosnia-Herzegovina alone; 1,5 million for the Caucasus).



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Migration in Europe since 1989

- nationally characterised migrants
- refugees from the former Yugoslavia
- economic migrations since 1990
- withdrawal of Soviet troops and their families

asylum-seekers from Eastern Europe and former USSR (1989-1992)

275 000
50 000
20 000
1 000

32

- State affected by a great migratory pressure from Eastern Europe and former USSR
- State potentially affected by a migratory pressure from Eastern Europe and former USSR
- temporary work migrations and alternating migrations
- departure areas for temporary and alternating migrations to West Germany and Berlin

c. Lastly, migrations for economic reasons have begun once more. Illustrated by the Albanian attempts to reach the Italian coast on two occasions in 1991, and afterwards to go to Greece (probably half a million), these migrations take less dramatic forms elsewhere: Poles to Germany, Romanians and Hungarians from Romania to Hungary; Belarussians and Russians to Poland.

The migratory potential of states such as Russia, Ukraine or Romania is not known precisely and different figures have been suggested in Russia (6 million candidates for departure?) which are unconfirmed.

States with negative net migration Year 1991 (*=1990) (in millions)
Bulgaria – 14
GDR* – 376
Poland – 16
Albania ?
Belarus* – 31
Estonia – 8
Romania – 466
Latvia – 11
Moldova – 34
Azerbaijan – 37
Georgia* – 39

(Source: Recent demographic developments in Europe, Council of Europe Press, 1993, p.20)

As noted in the report published by the European Population Committee in 1992, the reply to the question of whether and when the migratory flows crossing central and eastern Europe will decrease, will depend largely on the success of their conversion to a market economy, on the stabilisation of the economy and democratic institutions and the effective protection of minorities. It is not in the interests of these countries to lose their populations. But there does exist, especially among the minorities, a potential for emigration which a worsening in the economic and social crisis could increase.

This flow is directed towards developed Europe on the immediate borders of central Europe, from Finland to Italy and Greece, Austria and above all Germany, being the primary destinations.

One example, Germany in 1991: number of immigrants entering from a European state (in thousands)

Country of origin	Immigrants
Bulgaria	11
Greece	27
Italy	39
Czechoslovakia	17
ex-East Germany	395
Hungary	17
Poland	301
Romania	174
former USSR (before the war)	66
former Yugoslavia	66
Turkey	11

"Central and eastern Europe must be included in the process of economic and social development in Europe. Freedom of movement cannot be an option throughout Europe if the risks of economic decline, ecological catastrophe, blind nationalism and civil war are not banished" (*Recent demographic developments in Europe*, Council of Europe Press, 1993, page 20).

Europe in crisis: the return of war in Europe

Since 1988, five regions have erupted following border disputes: Nagorno-Karabakh, a majority Armenian enclave situated in Azerbaijan, then former Yugoslavia, the Northern Caucasus, Transnistria and Georgia.

In each case, there was a crisis of states succession in the former federations where new minorities refused to be included into the successor states: they seceded with the support of foreign allies, mostly co-ethnic states. The aim of war is always to impose displacements of populations and to create new borders based on the territorial gains of the conquering armies.

Of course, not all state successions led to such crises: in the Baltic states, in former Czechoslovakia and even in Ukraine, it has been possible to negotiate agreements. In the CIS, the decision was taken to freeze all questions relating to borders and to minorities.

In the meantime, it is possible to distinguish the limits of international action which manages to contain the area over which the conflict extends without however being able to put a stop to it.

One cease-fire agreement has been signed and adhered to, between Ukraine, Moldova and Russia. In Bosnia, the agreements signed in Geneva in Autumn 1993 created a union of three constituent peoples and accorded limited but unviable territory to the Bosnian Muslims in exchange for the right of the Bosnian Serb entity to form a state. This union was therefore fictitious and we shall soon witness the constitution of a greater Serbia and a greater Croatia in a three-way partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

One dispute remains between Serbia and Croatia over the Serb minority in east Croatia which refuse to belong to the Croat state, and the Slavonian territories occupied by a Serb minority.

The Caucasus is another seat of widespread tension, which is increasingly drawing in neighbouring states such as Iran and Turkey, in opposition to Russia, which fears that it will lose its influence over the southern margins. In this area which extends from the eastern shores of the Black Sea to the shores of the Caspian Sea, which has been the scene of so many conflicts during the past three centuries, particularly between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, the risks of an escalation in international involvement from what were local beginnings are serious.

The map on page 39 also shows a series of seats of potential conflict linked to the status of minorities, legal and political status, but also to economic position. The situations most often cited concern the Magyar speaking peoples of Slovakia, Romania and Serbia (Voivodine), the Albanians of Serbia (Kosovo), the Greeks of Albania, the Turks of Bulgaria, the Lithuanian Poles, as well as the Russian communities in Estonia, Latvia, Moldova and Ukraine.

For this chapter, reference may be made to the Monograph on *Minorities in central and eastern Europe* (Michel Foucher, Council of Europe Press, 1994).

crisis in Europe

former federations : crisis of succession of state

old and new minorities (more than 50% per administrative unit)

ARMENIA

status under discussion

Sate involved in armed conflict

forced transfers of populations on ethnical basis

boundaries of Autonomous Republic of the Former USSR

old dispute not yet settled

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Conclusions

The failure of prevention demonstrates the limits of action by democratic states and institutions against regimes and political forces which are democratic. It is possible however to attempt to prevent other potential sources of crisis by emphasising that the prospects of the rule of law, the notion of citizenship and European integration are more attractive than nationalist policies. The European Union, both as a market and as an institution, has a lever to use in this respect on states which apply for membership.

This brings us back to our initial definition of Europe as a virtual geopolitical space: it will extend as far as the reign of democracy. There lies the heart of the mission of the Council of Europe. To describe the new faces of Europe, is to place as much emphasis on the Europeans themselves as on their territory. The challenge lies in the transition from the Europe we know from experience to the Europe we wish to shape for the future. Teaching geography in a fashion which is modern and realistic, open and constructive can play a modest part in this.

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